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[484] ilies to live in Vila Recôncavo and travel to their work and back daily. During the summer this trip is made by truck, but in the winter it is made by foot or if possible by canoe. The petroleum industry has attracted few local people as yet. Instead, strangers have come into the area as petroleum em-
[521] ployees. A favorite conversation among fishermen is a discussion of whether they should give up fishing and go to work in the oil fields. The general feeling is that they are better off as fishermen. As they put it, if they fished for the same number of hours as the oil men work, they could earn more money than the petroleum workers. In their present occupation they can work as much or as little as they wish, the major determinant being whether there is enough in the house to eat and still a little left over for cigarettes, Coca-Colas, and occasional new clothes. They are an independent group, and are frequently criticized as being lazy because they will not take steady employment. This seems an unfair criticism in view of the rigors of fishing.

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[875] [632] The others listed in the group of federal and state employees have permanent appointments to their jobs and in all but a few cases are local people. The federal tax collector and his wife, who is one of the schoolteachers, are strangers to the area, but are now well integrated in the town. Three other schoolteachers are from other parts of the state and spend only the school year in Vila Recôncavo. There is a difference between the teachers who make Vila Recôncavo their home and those who do not. Those who spend only the school year there have little or no contact with the local population, apparently feeling that they are superior to anyone there. They are young women, but do not look for husbands among local men and openly admit they do not like the town. They are prominent in the group which calls the fishermen lazy and uncultured, and in general are unsympathetic to the town dwellers.

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632 There are sixteen municipal employees, all of them local people, consisting of the county secretary, the treasurer and his assistant, the contador who takes care of the county spending, the fiscal who is supposed to supervise the collecting of the county funds, three county tax collectors, and others who occupy minor posts such as courthouse porter. These positions are appointive, and as a result of the relative stability of the area's politics the appointees are seldom changed. The secretary is the man who does most of the county's adminis-

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[541] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
[794] once. As a rule, however, church services are attended sep-
arately, the wives and daughters going together and the men
singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings
with friends in the house, such as are common to North Amer-
ican small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only trav-
eling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with rel-
atives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go
shopping.

*565 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated
871 than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are
nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in
Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there.
Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Re-
côncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they
are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
present generation are studying for degrees in law and med-
*565 icine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
[867] none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
[582] freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
*565 marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
582 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôn-
•875 cavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the
schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-
good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Re-
côncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both
schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and
alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the
factory workers, who constitute the major part of the pop-
ulation. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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sors honored as *paranymphos*,[9] all were white. Of 21 faculty members honored with *homenagem*,[10] 6 were mulattoes (2 quite negroid), 1 was *branco da Bahia*, 14 were whites, and none was black.

In a prominent secondary institution, of 18 instructors, 1 was a black, 5 were mulattoes, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 9 were whites. In another secondary school, of 33 instructors, 7 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 20 were whites. While of 30 elementary teachers noted in state schools, 3 were blacks, 10 were mulattoes, 6 were *brancos da Bahia*, 1 was a *mameluco*, and 10 were whites.

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In educational circles one often hears of a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing with snow-white hair and beard who organized some years ago one of the present secondary institutions and whose two sons are well-known and widely respected educators. Several whites now prominent in local and national circles speak with pride of their schooling under this distinguished man.

A similar attitude is not infrequently manifested with reference to other colored teachers or professors; for instance, a prominent medical specialist and noted lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine; a legal "authority" and author of textbooks in law, now associate justice of the Brazilian supreme court; a prominent nerve specialist; a noted surgeon; and the city's ablest and most quoted literary critic.

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In a private elementary school a class of boys ranging in age from seven to eleven years were being taught by a Negro teacher. Among the group were two whites, one *branco da*

[9] Each graduating class in the secondary and professional schools selects one of its more popular teachers or professors for special recognition as *paranympho*.

[10] Graduating classes also select, besides a *paranympho*, several teachers or professors to be honored with *homenagem*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Bahia, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man.

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The public library is patronized indiscriminately by members of all ethnic groups. Blacks, however, appear among its frequenters only in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 individuals using the library facilities on different days and at different hours during the day,[11] only 9.6 per cent were blacks, while 35.9 per cent were mulattoes and 52.7 per cent were whites.[12]

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In labor unions organization definitely follows class lines, and ethnic differences are largely lost sight of in the pursuit of common ends. Leadership, however, tends to be white or near-white, even in those unions composed predominantly of blacks and dark mixed-bloods. For instance, at a "solemn assembly" for the installation of new officers in a local labor union whose membership, limited to 550, is overwhelmingly Negro (as indicated by a detailed check of the members with the aid of the union secretary), the retiring president was a *branco da Bahia* and the incoming president a light mulatto. Only eleven *brancos* (probably all, or nearly all, of whom are *brancos da Bahia*) and relatively few mulattoes are to be found among the membership.[13]

[11] Samples were taken for each hour from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with the exception of 12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M., when the institution was closed.

[12] Also 7 (1.2 per cent) *cafusos*, 3 (0.5 per cent) *mamelucos*.

[13] Of the speakers, 6 were blacks, 5 were mulattoes (2 quite light), 1 was a *branco da Bahia*, and 1 was a white. Among the themes presented were: "Solidarity! All Workers Are Brothers!" "Since the Revolution of 1930 Workers Are No Longer Slaves"; "Viva Getulio Vargas, the God, the Jesus, and the Senhor do Bomfim [patron saint of Bahia's poorer classes] of the Workers!" "Remember the Chicago Workers Who Died for Liberty!" "Save Brazil's Wealth from Exploitation by *Norte-Americanos* Who Hope To Seize Her Mines and Her Waterfalls and Make Slaves of Her People!" "Look to the World's Greatest Socialist and Sociologist, Jesus Christ."

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[SALVADOR]

The Arts

*563 53 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the [566] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored *563 533 people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for [555] music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as [875] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach [555] a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

*563 875 533 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at [462] present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and *563 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood 545 is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the 533 contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

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*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture: its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 [873] In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

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*563 162 873 The Whites make up scarcely half of the total, and it should be noted that the female group includes a higher proportion of colored girls. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the public secondary schools recently established always include a larger number of students of dark color; 30 or 40 years ago it was extremely rare to see a Black in one of these establishments. Around *563 873 178 1915 one of these schools refused to admit a very dark student, which gave rise to a vehement protest by a black lawyer; wishing to explain the incident, the head of the establishment claimed to have acted in accordance with the standards in force, that is to say, under the tacit pressure of upper-class families. This opposition has considerably decreased as the social ascent of colored families, confined until then to the lower strata of society, developed. Nevertheless women's schools directed by the religious of foreign origin progressed more slowly in this respect, though already admitting very dark students. Numerous informants have attended the courses of private secondary schools, but most of them, from poor families, have studied in public schools.

*563 • 875 In the primary and secondary professorship there are also many colored persons, including Blacks and very Negroid métis... Even in the private schools there are colored professors. Some of the most famous professors of the Portuguese language, Latin, and mathematics with whom the young people of the most important families studied were, half a century ago, schoolmasters, priests, and very dark lawyers, of whom numerous intellectuals of Bahia still speak with admiration and respect today. In our times the number of primary professors of the male sex is much smaller, but the female teaching corps includes a large number of dark persons. A normal school maintained by the government of the State is attended by numerous dark girls of the lower and middle classes of the population. Among the teachers of primary instruction, says one of our informants, there is no racial distinction; numerous professors, although very dark, occupy the positions of director and school inspector, and in the schools themselves there is no racial separation between students and professors. The posts of secretary and director of the normal school of the State, as well as those of the college-preparatory secondary schools and public colleges, have many a time been occupied by very dark persons.

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*563 571 873 students are admitted, like the others, as probationers at the palace of justice, in the laboratories, in the hospital services of the university, etc., and sometimes enjoy exceptional facilities in pursuing instruction given under the guidance of a professor of renown. It is said, however, that formerly a school for civil *563 874 [178] engineers did not readily admit colored students. This school is particularly strict, and, because of the limited opening that Bahia represented for engineers some years ago, it had a very small number of students; in spite of this, it awarded diplomas to Blacks and to mulattoes, some of whom achieved a first-class position in their profession or elsewhere; among these is the present director of the school. If one takes at random the lists of students graduated in the course of different years, one can confirm that all types are found among them, the proportion of those with very dark skin being very high. The fact that there are very few civil engineers who are really black is explained by the small number of diplomas awarded by this school in comparison to others of the University of Bahia (1).

1. The Polytechnical School of Bahia in 1918 awarded diplomas to 23 students, two of them mulattoes; in 1948 it awarded a diploma to 51 students, among them one Black and ten métis, and in 1949 to 68 students, among them six métis.

*563 873 875 According to a mulatto informant, "there is a sector prohibited to Blacks and to colored persons: the university professorship." And he relates that having been a candidate for a university chair himself, anyone could say that his competence was unquestionable, but that "he was a mulatto..." Nevertheless he was accepted. Two other informants relate that a young man practicing a liberal profession, assistant in one of the faculties, had been excluded because he was mulatto, despite his recognized competence. The facts seem to contradict such interpretations, for all the faculties of Bahia have always had colored professors, though in different proportions. In the gallery of portraits of the oldest among them,

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*563 873 • 875 the faculty of medicine, one can see at least eight pardos and morenos who taught there during the first half of the last century (2).

2. The colored candidates sometimes encountered serious difficulties in getting on the higher staffs of the professorship. One of them, Dr. Luiz Alvares dos Santos, in the thesis that he wrote in 1859 in order to become a professor in the faculty of medicine of Bahia, complained of having suffered rebuffs, which he attributed to the fact that he was of mixed blood. After three attempts he nevertheless ended up by being admitted.

In a list of 99 professors now at the university one counts 15 morenos and mulattoes, and /82/ an identical proportion among the assistants. Never is the scientific and social prestige of university professors measured by the pigmentation of the skin, and some of the most renowned intellectuals of Bahia are colored professors whose names are the pride of their faculties. Numerous finos white students are honored to have prepared their doctoral thesis under the direction of these professors and to have done their practical studies with them.

*563 463 555 The liberal professions are indubitably the most direct path of social ascent for persons who are colored and of modest milieu. With regard to these professions, even in the ones that are most on view persons of all types can have a career and build up a clientele, particularly as far as doctors and lawyers are concerned, among the upper-class Whites. The persons practicing a liberal profession whom federal and state organizations register and supervise are divided up as follows: